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LOST BOOKS AND RECORDS QUOTED
IN THE OLD TESTAMENT

A.S. ZERBE

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BY REV. A. S. ZERBE, PH.D., D.D.,

Professor of Old Testament Criticism and Theology, in the Central Theological Seminary.

[Reprinted from the REFORMED CHURCH REVIEW, Vol. XII., No. 2, April, 1908.]

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The following article, reprinted from the *Reformed Church Review*, April, 1908, forms a chapter of a book on "The Old Testament and the New Criticism," which the writer expects to publish in the near future.

A. S. Z.

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LOST BOOKS AND RECORDS QUOTED IN THE OLD TESTAMENT.

BY PROF. A. S. ZERBE, PH.D., D.D.

The Old Testament quotes from, or refers to, various books and authorities no longer extant. The later historical books especially, and to some extent also the earlier, mention specifically, certain books, registers and chronicles to which the writer had access and which contained additional information. Our purpose is to examine these briefly, with the view of ascertaining the extent to which the sacred writers had trustworthy data. We leave out of account all supposed documents, and confine ourselves to the writings cited in express terms.¹

I. THE BOOK OF THE WARS OF JEHOVAH, NUMBERS, 21: 14.

1. The twenty-first chapter of Numbers contains three poetical quotations, the first of which is affirmed explicitly to have been taken from the "Book of the Wars of Jehovah," v. 14. The occasion of the quotation is a description of the

¹ Our inquiry has a bearing indirectly on the great critical question, whether the author, or authors of the Pentateuch had access to, and made use of documentary sources.

route of Israel beyond Moabite territory and to the border of the Amorites. Since the Arnon was in dispute, it is possible that the poem celebrated a war for its possession; the writer adduces a few lines as proof that the Arnon as the border of Moab has been taken by Israel. The fragment begins and ends in the middle of a sentence. If we supply a suitable verb, it runs thus: "Wherefore it is said in the Book of the Wars of Jehovah,

We passed Vaheb in Supah,
And the valleys of the Arnon,
And the slope of the valleys
That inclineth toward the dwelling of Ar,
And leaneth upon the border of Moab," vs. 14, 15.

We have here the clear statement of a quotation from a "book" (Hebrew *sepher*), and unless the word has a meaning different from the uniform usage of the Old Testament, it denotes a composition in written, and not merely in oral form. The date of this book will be considered later.²

2. The second poetical quotation, Num. 21: 17, 18, is the so-called "Song of the Well":

² The word *sepher*, as also *sôpher*, scribe, are probably denominatives from *saphar*, to count, to relate, to write. Some would derive *sepher* from the Aramaic *saphar*, to cut, or shave off, whence dressed skins for writing. This etymology is not generally accepted. Since the discovery of the Tell-el-Amarna Letters, a derivation from the Assyrian has been suggested. There the verb *shaparu*, to send a letter, and the noun *shipru*, a writing, a letter, and *shipirtu*, a message, are of frequent occurrence. (Vid. Winckler's Tell-el-Amarna Letters.) In these, the large number of Phoenician, *silicit*, Hebrew glosses, is noteworthy and would indicate a constant interchange of words between the Assyrian and the Phœnician in 1400 B. C., and perhaps earlier. Possibly, *sepher* is an old Assyrian loan-word, finding its way into the Hebrew at an early date. So Gesenius-Buhl and Brown-Driver-Briggs lexicons, *sub voce*. It ought to be noticed, further, that the word has no connection with the usual Hebrew word meaning to write, *Kathab*. If the word *sepher* was adopted from the Assyrian, or possibly already from the Babylonian, did not the thing signified go with it? Much can be said in support of the position of Koenig, as deduced from the Hammurabi Code, and the Amarna Letters, that writing was known among the Hebrews at the date of the Exodus, and possibly even in the Abrahamic period.

"Spring up, O Well; sing ye unto it;
The well, which the princes digged,
Which the nobles of the people delved,
With the sceptre and with their staves."

Moses at the command of Jehovah collects the people and gives direction for the digging of the well. "The seeking of the precious water by rude art in a thirsty valley kindles the mind of some poet of the people. And his song is spirited, with ample recognition of the zeal of the princes, who themselves take part in the labor. While they dig he chants, and the people join in the song till the words are fixed in their memory, so as to become part of the traditions of Israel" (R. A. Watson in Expositor's Bible).

3. The third poetical citation, Num. 21: 27-30, begins: "Wherefore they that speak in proverbs say:

Come ye to Heshbon;
Let the city of Sihon be built and established:
For a fire is gone out of Heshbon,
A flame from the city of Sihon:
It hath devoured Ar of Moab,
The lords of the high places of the Arnon, etc."

Since the introductory words, *'al-ken yomera*, are the same as in v. 14 (except that the verb is naturally in the plural), it may be inferred that the quotation was made by the same writer from the same source. The words, "they that speak in proverbs" (in the Hebrew, one word, a participial noun) may refer to the above "Book of the Wars of Jehovah," to a different book, or even to a song handed down orally.³ Driver

³ The persons who recited the poem are called *meshalim* (v. 27), from a verb meaning to utter a *mashal*. A *mashal* may be either a parable, as in the American Revision of Ps. 49: 4 (Hebrew v. 5) and 78: 2; a satiric hymn, Micah 2: 4; Hab. 2: 6; a maxim, Prov. 1: 1, 6; or even a prophecy in verse, as the parables of Balaam, Num. 23: 7, 18; 24: 3. The second of these meanings seems to suit best here. The *meshalim* are Israelites. The words, "let the city of Sihon be built and established," imply that it was destroyed. Satirically the Israelites call on the vanquished Amorites to rebuild the city if they are able. The justification of the triumphal song is found in v. 28: "a fire is gone out of Heshbon,"

and critics generally regard the three fragments as parts of one poem. Kautzsch thinks it probable that the "Song of the Well" and other poems, as Ex. 15: 1-18, 21, were taken from this "Book": "All these fragments point to a collection of songs for the glorification of the brave deeds of the people, and especially of Jehovah as the leader and the God of Battles" (Abriss, etc.).

That which concerns us especially in this connection is the early date of this "Book" and the still earlier date of the poems preserved in it. Some, as Gray, hold that the book was a collection of ancient popular songs that had been handed down orally till the fuller establishment of a national life brought with it a period of literary activity (Commentary, p. 285). Fuerst and the older critics place it in the Mosaic period; Dillmann in that of David and Solomon; Stade in the time of Omri; Kuenen under Jehoshaphat; E. Meyer 850; Driver prior to 900. Holzinger, reviewing the recent literature, concludes: "Ueber Vermutungen kommt man da nicht hinaus" (Einleitung, Hexateuch, p. 230). Dillmann argues: "Since the book is cited for the Moses-Joshua period, and since it cannot be supposed that the later writers (J and E) would quote for their readers very late songs as witnesses of that remote period, the Wars of Jehovah must mean the old conflicts for the possession of the land; and the composition of the book or the collection of the songs must be placed not later and probably earlier than the David-Solomon period, when the recollections were still fresh in the memory. The age of Moses is out of the Question" (Numeri, Deut. u. Jos., 123).

The connection clearly shows that at an early period a guild of men existed not unlike the Greek rhapsodists, who recited etc. The view that the poem is a satiric ode is held by Ewald, Keil, Sayce, Dillmann. Others, as Stade and E. Meyer, claim that the poem has nothing to do with the Amorites, but is a triumphal ode celebrating a victory over Moab at a much later date. In any event, the Mashalim were an order of long standing in Israel.

before the people the old songs and poems of the nation.⁴ We shall not err much either way, if we regard the nucleus of the Book of the Wars of Jehovah " as originating shortly after the events celebrated and as committed to writing already in the period of the Judges. Whatever the date of composition, it is clear that written sources existed in the early days of the Judges.⁵

II. THE BOOK OF JASHAR.

1. At the battle of Gibeon, Joshua said:

" Sun, stand thou still upon Gibeon;
And thou, Moon, in the valley of Aijalon.
And the sun stood still and the moon stayed
Until the nation had avenged themselves of their enemies.

Is not this written in the Book of Jashar?" (Josh. 10: 12-13).

What was the character and the date of this Book? " It was probably a collection, rhythmical in form, and poetical in diction, of various pieces celebrating the heroes of the Hebrew nation, and their achievements. . . . The book was naturally compiled by degrees, and gradually any ode or song deemed worthy of preservation added to it" (Maclear, Cambridge Bible, p. 89). Since the word *hayyashar* means the " Righteous One," the book may have been a record of the deeds of

⁴ It is easy to imagine how these reciters went about in Israel and, especially in time of war, by reciting poems like the present (compare Is. 4: 4; Hab. 2: 6) and thus recalling former victories, stimulated and encouraged the people (Judges 5: 31). But possibly the *repertoire* of these ballad-singers was not confined to odes of war and victory (Gray, Numbers, p. 299).

⁵ Any one caring to see a good example of the self-refutation of a certain type of textual and literary criticism will find it in T. K. Cheyne's article in the Encyclopædia Biblica, col. 5271, where the absurd Jerahmeel hypothesis is brought to bear on this subject, and the contention put forth that there was probably no *Sepher Milhamoth* at all, but rather a *Sepher Yerahmehel*, i. e., "the book, or list, of Jerahmeel," "a geographical survey"!

righteous men.⁶ It will be observed that the verses 1–11, and 16–27 read continuously, while 12–15 break into the narrative and indicate an insertion. Whether the author of chapter ten, or another, incorporated the matter relating to the standing still of the sun, the citation of the Book of Jashar proves that sources and documents were preserved in that early period and were available for literary purposes.

2. The second and only other reference to this book in the Hebrew Bible is in 2 Sam. 1: 17, 18: "And David lamented with this lamentation over Saul and over Jonathan his son (and he bade them teach the children of Judah the song of the bow: behold it is written in the Book of Jashar)." In v. 18 the Hebrew text, which has no word for "the song of," might be translated literally, "teach the children of Israel the bow." But what can this mean? The text as it stands is in some confusion, for this lamentation of v. 17, would seem to refer to the dirge in vs. 19–27. How then can "the bow," which is said to be written in the Book of Jashar, mean the following dirge?⁷ Was the dirge known both as "a lamentation" and as "the song of the Bow"? It is immaterial here how these questions are answered; the fact remains that in this comparatively early stratum of the Old Testament we have a distinct reference to an ancient book doubtless preserved in the Hebrew archives and available for reference. According to Driver, "it was not compiled before the time of

⁶ The quotation here does not prove that the Book of Joshua was composed after the date of the reference in 2 Sam. 1: 18 (David's time), and as little is the reference there a proof that the first part of the book was not extant in the pre-Davidic period. Josephus testifies that books other than the canonical were laid up in the Temple (*Antiquities*, V: 1, 17).

⁷ All the later critics, as Ewald, G. A. Smith, Perles, Wellhausen, Holzinger, Driver and H. P. Smith have discussed the passage and attempted a restoration of the text. Driver states the difficulties, but offers no solution (*Notes on Samuel*). Wellhausen is equally unsatisfactory (*Buecher Samuelis*). H. P. Smith says: "We can do nothing with the text as it stands, and the efforts of all the commentators only bring the difficulty more clearly into relief" (*Commentary on Books of Samuel*, 259).

David, though the nucleus of the collection may obviously have been formed earlier" (*Literature*, p. 114). So also Reuss.

It is probable that the Book of Jashar is referred to in another passage. In closing the description of Solomon's dedication of the Temple, the Septuagint in 1 Kings 8: 53, adds: "Is not this written in the Book of the Song?" Since the Hebrew for "the Righteous" is *hayyashar* and for "the Song" *hashshir*, and since in the absence of the vowel-points in the Hebrew as originally written, a confusion could easily occur, it is probable that the Septuagint translators mistook the one for the other. The Syriac similarly confounds the two words, rendering Josh. 10: 13 "book of hymns, or praises," and 2 Sam. 1: 18, "book of Ashir." It is not likely that the Septuagint added the clause without warrant. It would seem then that the Book of Jashar contained an account of the foundation of the Temple and was quoted by name in the Hebrew text used by the translators of the Book of Kings into Greek.⁸

⁸ This passage brings up the question whether the Massoretic or the Septuagint text is the better attested. Following Wellhausen, later critics, as W. R. Smith, Cheyne, Klostermann, Swete, Kittel regard the Sept. as reflecting the true reading. "As its very errors shew, it is a translation of a Hebrew original, and the Book of the Song from which it came is doubtless none other than the Book of Jashar" (Swete, *Introduc. O. T. in Greek*). "The addition really was found by the translators in Hebrew, not inserted out of their own head" (W. R. Smith, *O. T. in Jew. Ch.*). "Hashshir fortasse pro *hayyashar*" (Kittel, Bib. HEBRA). On the other hand, J. Halévy (*Révue Semitique*, VIII., pp. 218-25) maintains the priority of the Massoretic text, chiefly on the ground that the translator must have known the Book of Jashar and so could not have mistaken the word. Stade also (Hebrew Text of Kings in SBOT) holds that "there are other reasons which make it safer to adhere to the Massoretic text in this case. . . . In favor of its priority is the fact that these verses appear in their proper context while in the Sept. they are misplaced. . . . The first two hemistichs as restored by Wellhausen have no proper connection, while the sense of the first as restored by Klostermann is forced. . . . But above all, it is conclusive that the Sept. elsewhere in Kings often follows a Hebrew text which must be explained as a modification of our present Massoretic text" (p. 102).

Various opinions have been entertained as to the extent of this lost book. Talmudists, Church Fathers, Medieval rabbis wrestled in vain with the problem; perhaps all would have assented to the conclusion of Theodoret "that the citations prove that other documents written by the prophets were made use of in the composition of the historical books." Current criticism may be summed up in the language of W. H. Bennett: "The data are too scanty and obscure to determine either the character of the book or the meaning of its title. As the passages quoted are ancient poems on great events, especially battles, probably the book was a collection of such poems" (*Hast. Dic. Bible*). At all events, the references show that already at an early period, books were in process of formation and were referred to as sources of further information.⁹

III. THE HISTORY OF SAMUEL THE SEER.

1 Chron. 29: 29: "Now the acts of David the king, first and last, behold they are written in the history (Hebrew, *words*) of Samuel the seer, and in the history of Nathan the prophet, and in the history of Gad the seer." It has been held that the first of these works is the extant Book of Samuel, since certain sections of Samuel and Chronicles agree almost verbally. But a closer examination shows that the document quoted by the Chronicler was considerably more extensive than our canonical Samuel. The natural inference is that the authors of Samuel and of Chronicles quoted from a history of Samuel now lost.

⁹ The *Sepher hayyashar* has given rise to a curious literature. The Targum saw in it "the book of the law"; and the rabbis variously understood it as referring to Genesis, Deuteronomy, Judges, and even the Minor Prophets. The opinion of Gershom that it was one of the books that perished in the Babylonian Captivity was shared by Hottinger and other writers. In 1854 there appeared in London an ambitious work by Dr. Donaldson, who in the attempt at reconstruction included in it a considerable part of the Pentateuch and of the early historical books. There are also extant several rabbinical books with the same title. An interesting account of the speculations and imitations called forth by this lost work is found in *Literary Remains of Emanuel Deutsch*, pp. 440-8.

IV. THE HISTORY OF NATHAN THE PROPHET.

This is mentioned in 1 Chron. 29: 29 quoted above. As Nathan was a prophet of commanding influence at the court of David, and conversant with the real drift of events, we are not surprised that he wrote a history of that part of the reign of David with which he was especially familiar. In 2 Chron. 9. 29, we read: "Now the rest of the acts of Solomon, first and last, are they not written in the history of Nathan the prophet?" From this it may be inferred that he also wrote an account of Solomon's reign.¹⁰

V. THE HISTORY OF GAD THE SEER.

The above passage in Chronicles likewise mentions this work. The prophet Gad was counsellor of David in early life (1 S. 22: 5). Subsequently he announced the divine condemnation of the royal census (2 S. 24: 11), and advised the erection of an altar on Araunah's threshing-floor (2 S. 24: 18). He was therefore qualified to write a history of the first part of David's reign. In regard to these three lost books on the reign of David, it may be remarked that the events in the king's life must have been well known to Samuel and in the schools of the prophets, and that they would take steps to keep a complete record. This is confirmed by 1 S. 19: 18: "Now David fled, and escaped, and came to Samuel to Ramah and told him all that Saul had done to him. And he and David went and dwelt in Naioth," the seat of the society of the prophets.

¹⁰ Alas! of all the lost works of antiquity, is there any, heathen or sacred, to be named with the loss of the biography of David by the prophet Nathan? We can, however, form some notion of these lost books by the fragments of the historical writings that are left to us in the Prophetic Books of Isaiah and Jeremiah, and also by the likelihood that some of the present canonical books were founded upon the more ancient works which they themselves must have tended to supersede (Stanley, History of the Jewish Church, Vol. I., p. 395).

VII. THE CHRONICLES OF KING DAVID.

1 C. 27: 24: "Neither was the number put into the account in the chronicles of King David." As this passage stands in the account of the numbering of the people, the chronicler doubtless means that the details of the census were not entered in the official records. The book would thus appear to have contained among other matters, a transcript of statistical tables. "From them may have been derived the formal summaries of wars such as are given in 2 S. 8: 1-15, and lists of officials such as those in 2 S. 8: 16-18; 20: 23-26; 23: 8-39 (Kirkpatrick, *Samuel*, p. 11)."

VII. THE LAST WORDS OF DAVID.

1 C. 23: 27: "For by the last words of David the sons of Levi were numbered." The American Revision, margin, reads, "in the last acts," which is preferable. A more literal rendering of the Hebrew is: "In the last acts of David is the numbering of Levi from twenty years old and upwards." Under this view of the text, the reference is doubtless to a lost book of annals or statistics, perhaps similar to the preceding work.

VIII. THE BOOK OF THE ACTS OF SOLOMON.

In the Books of Kings three documentary sources are mentioned: (1) The Book of the Acts of Solomon, 1 K. 11: 41; (2) The Book of the Chronicles of the Kings of Israel, 1 K. 14: 19; (3) The Book of the Chronicles of the Kings of Judah, 1 K. 14: 29. That these are independent works is shown by the fact that for the history of Solomon only the first is cited; for the history of the kings of Israel only the second; and for the history of the kings of Judah only the third. It follows, "That the three documents contained more than the author has incorporated into his work and were more complete; and that not only were they in existence at the time our books were composed, but they were in the hands, if not of all, of many nevertheless, and circulated generally. For if

they were only submitted to his inspection, he could not have appealed to them, and referred his readers to them. In many respects it is well to bear this in mind" (Baehr, in Lange, p. 3).¹¹

Concerning the book before us, it is recorded, 1 K. 11: 41: "The rest of the acts of Solomon, and all that he did, and his wisdom, are they not written in the book of the acts of Solomon?" The Chronicler records, 2 C. 9: 29: "The rest of the acts of Solomon, first and last, are they not written in the history of Nathan the prophet, and in the prophecy of Ahijah, the Shilonite and in the visions of Iddo the Seer concerning Jeroboam the son of Nebat?"¹² The language and the style of Chronicles resemble so closely this part of the Book of Kings that the source for the author of both was probably the same, known to one as the Book of the Acts of Solomon, and to the other under the three titles mentioned above.¹³

Some critics are of the opinion that the work cited in 1 K. 11: 41 and the three sources of 2 C. 9: 29, are identical, but known under different titles. It is more probable that the latter books covered a wider range and were the sources of the

¹¹ Whole paragraphs in our Kings and Chronicles are practically identical. Compare 1 K. 8: 12-50 and 2 C. 6: 1-39 and 8: 2-10; 1 K. 8: 64-9: 9 and 2 C. 7: 7-23; 1 K. 9: 17-23 and 2 C. 9: 1-28; 1 K. 10: 1-28 and 2 C. 9: 1-28. This would imply that our Chronicler quoted from Kings, or followed closely the original sources.

¹² We have not space to consider the lost songs of Solomon. "His songs were a thousand and five," 1 K. 4: 32. "He spake three thousand proverbs," 1 K. 4: 32. Only a fraction of these are preserved in the canonical Scriptures.

¹³ It is not quite clear whether the name of the prophet indicates the author, or the subject of the history; the literal rendering of the Hebrew, "the words (*dibere*) of Nathan the prophet," "the prophecy (*nebuah*) of Ahijah" and "the visions (*chazoth*) of Iddo" favors the former view. In 2 C. 26: 22 we are told that Isaiah wrote a history of Uzziah: "Now the rest of the acts of Uzziah, first and last, did Isaiah, the prophet, the son of Amoz, write." Thus it is certain that the prophets were the authors of historical books; and we are therefore justified in holding that the book of the Acts of Solomon was composed largely of excerpts from prophetic writings, and perhaps chiefly from the three mentioned in 2 C. 9: 29.

former. However, this is immaterial here, for in either case our contention is established, that historical literature was extensively cultivated in the time of Solomon, and that chronicles, narratives and histories, as well as prophecies in the special sense, were written out by the prophets.¹⁴

IX. THE PROPHECY OF AHIJAH.

2 C. 9: 29. See under VIII. 1 K. 11: 28-40 narrates how by divine direction Ahijah clothed with a new garment meets Jeroboam and announces the success of the revolution, and promises the divine favor, if he observe Jehovah's statutes and commandments. "Years pass by; Jeroboam has realized his ambition, but not the ideal set before him by the prophet. His eldest son falls sick. The king bethinks himself of the true seer, now old and blind, and sends his wife in disguise." But the prophet through a divine revelation unmasks the deception and foretells the death of the child and the end of Jeroboam's house. See the graphic account in 1 K. 1: 18. As a true and gifted prophet, he doubtless wrote a theocratic history of the period beginning with Solomon and ending with Rehoboam.

X. THE BOOK OF THE CHRONICLES OF THE KINGS OF ISRAEL.

The author of the Book of Kings constantly refers to other authorities for matter not given in his work. One of these, the Acts of Solomon, we have just examined. A second is the Book of the Chronicles of the Kings of Israel. This work is cited as the source in the case of seventeen kings, as follows:

¹⁴ "The prophetic spirit and the religious drift of all we read in the history is thus accounted for. . . . The whole purpose of the narrative in First Kings is to picture Solomon's life a success, and the building of the Temple as acceptable, in so far as the one was led in the fear of Jehovah, and the other as a token of obedience to the divine will. . . . A record of such a character is the composition of no mere historiographer, but bears on the face of it the imprint of prophetic hands" (J. R. Lumby, First Kings).

Jeroboam I. (1 K. 14: 19); Nadab (15: 31); Baasha (16: 5); Elah (16: 14); Zimri (16: 20); Omri (16: 27); Ahab (22: 39); Ahaziah (2 K. 1: 18); Jehu (10: 34); Jehoahaz (13: 8); Joash (13: 12); Jeroboam II. (14: 28); Zechariah (15: 11); Shallum (15: 15); Menahem (15: 22); Pekahiah (15: 26) and Pekah (15: 31); all who reigned in the Northern Kingdom except Jehoram and Hoshea (that these names are omitted is a proof that the book received no additions after the reign of Pekah, *circa*, 733 B. C.). Our Books of Chronicles do not treat except incidentally of the history of the Northern Kingdom, and hence have no occasion to cite authorities for the Kings of Israel. Such histories must, however, have been drawn up, since they are mentioned under various titles in the accounts of the Kings of Judah.¹⁵

Even in the case of matter for which no authorities are cited, we must infer from the style and minute details, that the author of our kings had abundant documentary proof at command. Since he sees fit to cite authorities for further investigation, it is reasonable to suppose that either the three above-named sources, or others of like character, were drawn upon for the remainder of his material. Driver holds that for the longer narratives he is indebted to various independent sources. Their authors were in all probability prophets—in

¹⁵ "These authorities are always referred to for information respecting the kings, their buildings, warlike enterprises, and other undertakings. It may be safely inferred from the character of these references that the 'Books of Chronicles' were of a political character; they contained notices of the public and official doings of the several kings. The expression *chronicles* (literally, *words*, or *acts of days*) is the proper term used to denote an official journal, or minutes of events: 1 C. 27: 24 it is implied that the results of David's census would in the ordinary course of things have been included in the chronicles of his reign. . . . Now it appears from 2 S. 8: 16; 20: 24; 1 K. 4: 3; 2 K. 18: 18, 37; 2 C. 34: 8, that David, Solomon and Josiah had among their ministers one who bore the title of recorder (literally, *remembrancer*, *mazkir*) and it may reasonably be inferred that the other kings as well had a similar minister. It can hardly be doubted that the function of this minister was to keep an official record of the public events of the reign, such as would be denoted by *dibere hayyamim*" (Driver, *Literature*).

most cases, prophets belonging to the Northern Kingdom; though the data do not exist for identifying them, in individual cases.

Since now the date of the compilation of the Books of Kings is about 560 B. C., and since the author constantly cites his sources or is supposed to draw from them, we have in fact a work based on original documents carrying us back to a period contemporaneous with the events described. Thus the highest degree of historicity is attained, due largely to histories and chronicles written in the successive periods. We have therefore reason to believe that our Kings and Chronicles are correct and trustworthy records.

XI. THE HISTORY OF SHEMAIAH THE PROPHET.

2 C. 12: 15: "Now the acts of Rehoboam, first and last, are they not written in the histories of Shemaiah the prophet and of Iddo the seer, after the manner of genealogies?" Shemaiah the prophet announced the divine sanction of Jeroboam's rebellion against Rehoboam: "Thus saith Jehovah. . . . This thing is from me," 2 C. 11: 2-4. He also reproved Rehoboam for having forsaken Jehovah. At the word of Jehovah he prophesied a deliverance from Shishak's invasion, 2 C. 12: 4-8. He was therefore in a position to write a history of Rehoboam's reign.

XII. THE VISIONS OF IDDO THE SEER.

Iddo, known as seer (*chozeh*) and prophet (*nabi*), is cited by the Chronicler as an authority for the reigns of three kings: (1) Solomon, 2 C. 9: 29: "The rest of the acts of Solomon are they not written in the visions of Iddo the seer?"; (2) Rehoboam, 2 C. 12: 15: "The acts of Rehoboam are they not written in the history of Iddo the seer?"; (3) Abijah, 2 C. 13: 22.

XIII. THE HISTORY OF IDDO THE SEER.

Cited in 2 C. 12: 15. See preceding. Josephus (Antiq., VIII.: 8, 5) adopts the tradition that the prophet who denounced Jeroboam, 1 K. 13, was Jaddo, perhaps Iddo.

XIV. THE COMMENTARY OF THE PROPHET IDDO.

2 C. 13: 22: "The rest of the acts of Abijah . . . are written in the commentary of the Prophet Iddo." The account of Abijah's victory, 2 C. 13: 3 f., was probably taken from this work. The term translated commentary (*midrash*) occurs in the Old Testament only here and 2 C. 24: 27. It means a didactic development of historical events in the interest of higher religious truth. We know nothing more of the two books than their titles. Possibly the Commentary of Iddo is to be identified with the preceding; or the three may have been one work under three titles.

XV. THE HISTORY OF JEHU.

2 C. 20: 34: "Now the rest of the acts of Jehoshaphat, first and last, behold they are written in the history (*words*) of Jehu, the son of Hanani, which is inserted in the Book of the Kings of Israel." Jehu predicted the downfall and destruction of the house of Baasha, 1 K. 16: 1-7, 12. He also denounced Jehoshaphat for his alliance with Ahab, 2 C. 19: 2. The author of our Chronicles quotes sometimes from such histories as parts of a larger work. In this case the history is viewed as a part of the Book of the Kings of Israel. This Jehu who had prophesied against Baasha some thirty years previously, would be qualified to write a history from the theocratic standpoint.

XVI. THE ACTS OF UZZIAH.

2 C. 26: 22: "The rest of the acts of Uzziah . . . did Isaiah, the prophet, . . . write." Since it is not stated that Isaiah wrote a special book of the acts of Uzziah, we may suppose that he wrote a history of the reign, and incorporated it at once in the book of the Kings of Judah.

XVII. THE VISION OF ISAIAH.

2 C. 32: 32: "The rest of the acts of Hezekiah and his good deeds, behold, they are written in the vision of Isaiah,

the prophet, the son of Amoz, in the Book of the Kings of Judah and Israel." "The vision of Isaiah" can not be the canonical book of the prophet (although that is called in general the vision of Isaiah in 1: 1), for the acts of Hezekiah are not described therein at great length. The book in which it was inserted was not our canonical Kings, but the book mentioned in 1 C. 9: 21; 16: 11; and 2 C. 25: 26, in case these are the same and not different books.

XVIII. THE HISTORY OF HOZAI, OR OF THE SEERS.

2 C. 33: 18, 19: "The rest of the acts of Manasseh, and his prayer . . . behold they are written among the acts of the Kings of Israel . . . behold they are written in the history of Hozai." Although the titles do not agree exactly, the first-named of these books and "the Book of the Kings of Israel" are probably the same work. It is possible that Hozai is the name of a prophet, but if so, we have no further account of him. Since the word literally means the "Seers" it is better to render as in the American Revision, margin, "the Book of the Seers."

XIX. THE COMMENTARY OF THE BOOK OF KINGS.

2 C. 24: 27: "Now concerning his (Joash's) sons . . . behold they are written in the Commentary of the Book of Kings." As stated above, this is the only other passage in which the word *Midrash* occurs. Some would identify the book with the Acts of the Kings of Israel, 2 C. 33: 18. "On the one hand the peculiar title would suggest a distinct work: on the other hand, it is not apparent why, if (as the title shows) it was a comprehensive work, dealing with the kings generally, it should be cited for one reign only" (Driver, Lit.).

XX. THE BOOK OF THE KINGS OF JUDAH AND ISRAEL.

2 C. 16: 11 (Asa); 25: 16 (Amaziah); 28: 16 (Ahaz); 32: 32 (Hezekiah).

XXI. THE BOOK OF THE KINGS OF ISRAEL AND JUDAH.

2 C. 27:7 (Jotham); 35:26 (Josiah); 36:8 (Jehoiakim).

XXII. THE ACTS OF THE KINGS OF ISRAEL.

2 C. 33:18 (Manasseh).

XXIII. THE BOOK OF THE KINGS OF ISRAEL.

1 C. 9:1: "So all Israel were reckoned by genealogies; and, behold they are written in the book of the kings of Israel." Critics generally hold that numbers XX.-XXII. are different names of one and the same work, which contained a history of both kingdoms and whose full title was "the Book of the Kings of Israel and Judah," but which was sometimes referred to more briefly. That the compiler refers to one book, and not two or three, seems clear from these considerations: (1) the book with the full title is cited as the authority for the reigns of Josiah and Jehoiakim, i. e., after the Northern Kingdom had fallen; (2) the shorter title, "kings of Israel" is employed for Jehoshaphat, and Manasseh, kings of Judah.¹⁶

XXIV. THE WRITING OF DAVID AND OF SOLOMON.

In the account of Josiah's preparation for the celebration of the Passover, we have, 2 C. 35:4: "Prepare yourselves after your fathers' houses by your courses according to the writing of David king of Israel and according to the writing of Solomon his son." In an earlier passage, the Chronicler describes David's pattern of the Temple and adds: "All this, said David, have I been made to understand in writing from the hand of Jehovah, even all the works of this pattern," 1 C. 28:19. (Some think that the "writing" was not a

¹⁶ "It is true that the Chronicler explicitly appeals to none of the documents named as authorities for what he states, but only as repositories of (further) information. Nevertheless, it is probable that the Book of the Kings of Judah and Israel, cited under different names, is the main source of Ch. The many agreements with S and K prove that Ch used either these books or some work based on these" (F. Brown, *Chronicles*, Hasting's).

book, but a plan or series of patterns shown in vision.) It would seem that the lost works here mentioned were notes or writings of David and Solomon in which were recorded the laws for the guidance of the priests and Levites in the sanctuary.

XXV. THE LAMENTATIONS.

2 C. 35: 25: "And Jeremiah lamented for Josiah; and all the singing men and singing women spake of Josiah in their lamentation unto this day, and they made them an ordinance in Israel; and, behold, they are written in the Lamentations." That this is not our canonical book "Lamentations" is shown by the fact that the Hebrew word here rendered "Lamentations" is *quinoth*, the plural of the form *quinah* (occurring also in 2 S. 1: 17) which is the technical expression for a death-dirge. The title of our book "Lamentations" is '*ekah* in the Hebrew. Moreover, we search in vain in the canonical Lamentations for a funeral dirge over the devout Josiah.

XXVI. THE BOOK OF THE CHRONICLES OF THE KINGS OF JUDAH.

As noted above, the third of the sources cited by the author of our Kings is "the Book of the Chronicles of the Kings of Judah," mentioned in fifteen passages: 1 K. 14: 29 (Rehoboam); 15: 7 (Abijah); 15: 23 (Asa); 22: 45 (Jehoshaphat); 2 K. 8: 23 (Joram); 12: 19 (Joash); 14: 18 (Amaziah); 15: 6 (Azariah); 15: 36 (Jotham); 16: 19 (Ahaz); 20: 20 (Hezekiah); 21: 17 (Manasseh); 21: 25 (Amon); 23: 28 (Josiah); 24: 5 (Jehoiakim). The formula for additional information is: "Now the rest of the acts of Rehoboam and all that he did are they not written in the book of the Chronicles of the Kings of Judah?" What now is the relation of this work to those already considered? It is evidently distinct from Nos. VIII. and X. above. But how is it related to the sources mentioned in our Chronicles? Diverse views have been entertained on this intricate problem. Since our

purpose is to show that the amount of written documents at the command of the Old Testament historian was much greater than is usually supposed, we are not concerned directly with the critical questions, but shall confine ourselves to the direct issue.

In order to have the facts well in hand we examine a few of the reigns somewhat closely.

1. Rehoboam. Our 1 K. 14: 29 refers for further information to the third source. In 2 C. 12: 15 we have: "Now the acts of Rehoboam . . . written in the histories of Shemaiah the prophet and of Iddo the seer, after the manner of genealogies?" Do our Kings and Chronicles mean the same work with different titles, or distinct books? By comparing 1 K. 12: 1-19 with 2 C. 10: 8-9; 1 K. 12: 20-24 with 2 C. 11: 1-4 and from other parts, it will be seen that the several parallels are substantially the same. As similar phenomena occur in the rest of our Chronicles, the claim may naturally be made that the Chronicler quotes from our Kings; but he refers in specific terms to the histories of Shemaiah and of Iddo. Does he wish us to infer that for what he gives he has drawn on our Kings, but for any desired additional matter he recommends these works? This is a possible inference. It is also possible that since he recommends these works they were likewise his sources. In either case the perplexity increases.

2. Abijah. The account of the reign of Abijah in 1 K. is very brief, but the author refers to the third source for further details. On the other hand our 2 C. 13: 22 directs attention to "the commentary of the prophet Iddo" for additional information. Was this latter at the date of the Chronicler still a separate book, or had it been incorporated into a larger work but still quoted under its original title?

3. From an examination of the remaining reigns it will be seen that our Kings uniformly directs attention for additional matter to the third source, except in the case of Ahaziah, Jehoahaz, Jehoiada and Zedekiah.

4. What now is the relation of these various sources? Did the Chronicler quote not merely from our Kings, but also from the other works? One view is that the sources of our Kings are identical with the chief written authorities of Chronicles, since the language in the parallel passages is nearly the same. The author of Kings, however, had before him, in addition to the Book of the Acts of Solomon, two distinct works, one relating to the Northern, the other to the Southern Kingdom; the Chronicler, if using the same works, must have known them as united. This is rendered probable both by the joint title and by references to the Book of the Kings of Israel even after the Northern Kingdom had fallen.¹⁷

Of this scheme Driver says: "It is only approximate. It takes no account of the elements in the existing Kings or Chronicles derived from other sources—in the former, for instance, from prophetical narratives, in the latter from genealogical and other records. It must be admitted also that we do not *know* that (1) and (2) were used in the compilation of (4); the materials used may have been obtained from other sources, even including (3)" (*Literature*).

XXVII. THE LOST PROVERBS OF SOLOMON.

There must have been intense literary activity in the two and a half centuries between Solomon and Hezekiah, for we are told, Proverbs, 25: 1, "These also are proverbs of Solomon, which the men of Hezekiah copied out," the reference being to chapters 25–29 inclusive.¹⁸ The peculiarities of

¹⁷ The relation of these books is indicated in the following scheme:

(1) The Book of the Chronicles of the Kings of Israel.
 (2) The Book of the Chronicles of the Kings of Judah.

(3) The Canonical Book (4) The Book of the Kings of Israel and Judah.
 of Kings.

(5) The Canonical Book of Chronicles.

¹⁸ Prof. C. H. Toy allows that the men of Hezekiah are "the literary men of the court," but he proceeds, "the period would in these regards be an appropriate one, but the history of Israelitish literature makes it

language and matter bear witness to the gradual growth of the Book of Proverbs. Since Solomon is said to have spoken three thousand proverbs (1 K. 4: 32) and the number transmitted is only about 540 (some of which are repeated) it is probable that several collections of his proverbs were extant, and that scribes gathered into one book such as suited a religious purpose. The word translated "copied out," meaning also "compiled," "arranged in order," may indicate either one book or many as the source of the collection. Whether Hezekiah's men merely copied out, or also compiled and edited is immaterial, since under any view some book or record existed from which they selected. The view of some that these proverbs were handed down orally is wholly without support.

XXVIII. THE LOST SOURCES OF THE BOOKS OF EZRA AND NEHEMIAH.

The Books of Ezra and Nehemiah (a continuation of Chronicles) are drawn up largely on the basis of documents deposited in Jerusalem and in the Persian archives. That the books are compilations is evident from the style and the matter.¹⁹ In the original Hebrew canon the books are listed as one and may be so regarded. The author (whoever he

improbable that such a work should then have been undertaken; to regard Hezekiah as a Jewish Pisistratus (Del.) is to ascribe to the time a literary spirit of which our documents give no hint" (Proverbs, p. 458). We venture to believe that the evidence is strongly the other way.

¹⁹ It is well to recall the synopsis of these books and the approximate dates. *I. The Restoration*, first six chapters of Ezra (except 4: 7-24): (1) chaps. 1-3, the return from Babylon and foundation of Second Temple (537); (2) chaps. 4: 1-6, and chaps. 5 and 6, Samaritan opposition and completion of Temple (536; 520-516). Then the period of 58 years' silence (516-458). *II. The Foundation of Judaism*, under Ezra and Nehemiah (458-432): (1) Ezra, chaps. 7-10, the mission of Ezra (458-457); (2) Ezra 4: 7-24, hostility to Jews; (3) Neh., chaps. 1-12, Nehemiah's governorship (445-444); (4) Nehemiah's second visit, Neh. 13 (432). Persian rulers: Cyrus, 558-529; Cambyses, 529-522; Darius Hystaspes, 522-485; Xerxes, 485-465; Artaxerxes I., 465-425; Xerxes II. and Sogdianus, 425; Darius II. Nothus, 424-405; Artaxerxes II., 405-359.

may have been) made free use of abundant sources at his command. These included the memoirs of Ezra and of Nehemiah, official lists of names, and various Hebrew and Aramaic chronicles. In recent years a spirited controversy has sprung up regarding the date and authenticity of these sources. That the Aramaic sections of Ezra, viz., 4: 8 to 6: 18; 7: 12-26, are derived from an older source is universally admitted; but imbedded in these Aramaic sections are letters, decrees and rescripts which are themselves transcripts of sources no longer extant. Had the compiler access to the originals or to authenticated copies? Were they genuine? Did he perhaps re-edit or condense them? Is it likely that such rescripts as those of Artaxerxes (Ez. 4: 17-22), Cyrus (6: 3-5) and Darius (6: 6-12) are genuine? It is evident that one's attitude toward these questions will determine his conclusions as to the trustworthiness of the books.

From a reference to "the Book of the Chronicles," Neh. 12: 23, it has been inferred that there was extant a post-exilic, as there had been a pre-exilic, work embodying the history of the Jewish commonwealth. E. Meyer conjectures that it was written chiefly in the Aramaic, the author availing himself of the Hebrew only in quotations from the Hebrew sources (*Entstehung*, 20). The sources accessible to this chronicler were presumably a list of the returned exiles (*the gola*), an account of the building and the dedication of the Temple, the memoirs of Ezra and Nehemiah, and state documents. All recent authorities agree that abundant material was at the service of the author of Ezra-Nehemiah; but the trustworthiness of this material and the treatment of it are in dispute. We propose to inquire into the character and credibility of the lost records.²⁰

²⁰ *Recent Controversy on the Sources.* In 1890, A. Van Hoonacker, professor at Louvain, undertook to show that while Nehemiah's activity in Jerusalem was in 445-444 and 432 B. C., Ezra's mission took place under Artaxerxes II. about 400. In 1893, W. H. Kosters, another Dutch scholar, advanced the hypothesis that there was no return under Cyrus, that the Temple was rebuilt by the Jews remaining in Palestine (520-

XXIX. THE LOST MEMOIRS OF EZRA.

Extracts from the so-called personal memoirs of Ezra, found chiefly in Ezra 7: 27 to 9: 15, are distinguishable by the use of the first person singular. Here Ezra is clearly the speaker and as clearly the author of this part of the book. Was he also the author of the remainder? No, says the literary critic, for the abrupt change to the third person implies another than Ezra. It is, however, to be noted that the 516) and the walls restored only under Nehemiah, in 445. The first general return was under Ezra, and the law was promulgated, not in 444, but in 432. Kosters challenged the authenticity of the Ezra-Nehemiah documents and reconstructed *ad libitum*. In 1896, Van Hoonacker reiterated his position in the epoch-making work on the "Restoration." These investigations of the Dutch scholars have been assailed by both the conservative and the liberal critics: by the former, because the new hypotheses seem to cut Ezra-Nehemiah into pieces and to leave no safe footing for the Restoration; by the latter, especially Kuenen and Wellhausen, because, if the Artaxerxes of Ezra-Nehemiah be the second of that name (so also Torrey, Marquart, H. P. Smith and others) the date of Nehemiah's first governorship was in 385, and Ezra's introduction of the law at the same date, or even later. This would necessitate a re-adjustment of the Wellhausen date of 444 for the Priest Code. *Hinc illæ lachrymae Wellhauseniae*. In 1896, Eduard Meyer, the distinguished historian, instituted a searching investigation into the Persian and other documents in Ezra-Nehemiah and reached conclusions confirming in essentials the traditional view. About the same time, C. C. Torrey came to the diametrically opposite result, that, "aside from the greater part of Neh. 1-6, the book has no value whatever as history." In 1901, Sellin reviewed the whole subject and agreed with Kosters and Van Hoonacker that Ezra's mission followed that of Nehemiah, but he held that in other respects the traditional view is in the main correct. We are concerned here with the controversy only as it relates to the age and authenticity of the documents. We shall quote from recent special authorities, as follows: A. Van Hoonacker, *Néhémie et Esdras*, 1890; and *Nouvelles études sur la Restauration juive après l'exil de Babylone*, 1896. Kuenen, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, 1894. Kosters, *Die Wiederherstellung Israels in der persischen Periode*, 1895. Wellhausen, *Die Rueckkehr der Juden aus dem babylonischen Exil*, 1895; and *Goettingische Gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1897. E. Meyer, *Die Entstehung des Judenthums*, 1896. C. C. Torrey, *The Composition and Historical Value of Ezra-Nehemiah*, 1896. Cheyne, *Jewish Religious Life after the Exile*, 1898. Ernst Sellin, *Studien zur Entstehungsgeschichte der Juedischen Gemeinde nach dem Babylonischen Exil*, 1901.

style of the Book of Ezra reveals marked variations from that of the author of the canonical Chronicles; and it is possible that Ezra had a larger share in the composition of the book than critics generally concede. In any event it is probable that the original memoirs was a considerably larger work than the extant portions, and it may have included not only the whole period of his activity, but also a résumé of the history since the return under Zerubbabel. Under this view, the author of our Ezra in the parts written in the third person, draws chiefly from the memoirs, though following in part other sources. It is clear that a ready scribe like Ezra would leave extensive records.²¹

XXX. THE LOST MEMOIRS OF NEHEMIAH.

Quotations from the supposed memoirs of Nehemiah, which are likewise recognized by the character of the language, are found in Neh. 1: 1 to 7: 73; 12: 27–43 to 13: 4–31, and perhaps in other possages. Here too the word "I" referring unquestionably to Nehemiah, is used throughout. That such memoirs existed is the unanimous judgment of scholars.²² The only question is as to their extent and credibility. If Nehemiah wrote the Book of Nehemiah, as the old scholars held, and as certain peculiarities of style indicate, he of course faithfully transcribed from his memoirs; or, rather the theory of memoirs yields to that of an immediate composition. If, however, another writer, making liberal use of available

²¹ Critics even of the extreme left (except Kosters and Torrey) agree with Driver that these memoirs are reliable and authentic. "Nur vereinzelt ist an der Herkunft dieser Ich-Stuecke gezweifelt worden. Sie bleiben ohne diese Herkunft unverstaendlich; denn es ist nicht denkbar, dass ein Spaeterer, etwa der Chronist selbst, willkuerlich Ezra zum Theil in der ersten Person berichten lasse und dann doch wieder daneben in der dritten Person von Ezra rede" (Baudissin, Einleitung in d. Buech. A. T., 289).

²² "Als Kinder einer neuen Zeit zeugen sie [Ezra und Nehemia] sich dadurch, dass sie beide sich gedrungen gefuehlt haben, ihre Memoiren zu schreiben. Leider sind uns nur die des Nehemia vollstaendiger erhalten" (Wellhausen, Isre. u. Jued. Gesch., S. 173).

sources, composed Ezra-Nehemiah, the question of their character is fundamental.

XXXI. THE BOOK OF THE GENEALOGY OF THE RETURNED EXILES.

When the walls of Jerusalem had been repaired Nehemiah says: "And I found the book of the genealogy of them that came up at the first and I found written therein" (Neh. 7: 5). Then follows the list in 7: 6-73. Where did he find the names? Either in the post-exilic "book of the chronicles," or in the Temple archives, where Zerubbabel had deposited ■ list nearly a hundred years previously. See Ezra 2: 1-70, where substantially the same list is given. Recognizing the importance of the register, Nehemiah transfers it to his own history. "This long extract illustrates in an interesting manner the method of composition adopted by Jewish chroniclers" (Ryle, Ez. and Neh., p. 232).

This being a test case, all the recent critics have discussed the accuracy and credibility at some length. Meyer declares that if the list be authentic, it must form the basis of all investigations regarding the post-exilian community (p. 95). Stade says: "This list must have been compiled shortly after the arrival in Jerusalem. . . . Having been carefully preserved in Jerusalem, it was subsequently found among the family registers by Nehemiah and incorporated in his memoirs" (Gesch. d. Volkes Israel, II., 98). Meyer, who shares with Van Hoonacker and Sellin the honor of having written the best account of the Restoration, has the most satisfactory discussion of these "Lists," his review superseding the work of Smend on the same subject. At the end of a linguistic and historical analysis covering a hundred pages, he formulates a series of propositions, the first two of which are: "1. The list contains the names only of families who returned from the Exile, not of those remaining behind. 2. The names of places are those of the homeless population carried into exile, not their residence after the Exile (Entsteh.,

p. 190)." Further: "All these arguments prove that the modern doubts are unfounded. No proof exists for questioning the correctness of the superscription in Ezra 2: 1, or for regarding Neh. 7: 5 as an interpolation" (p. 191). In short Meyer regards the list as entirely authentic, as "ein Aktenstueck officiellen Characters" (p. 102).

Kosters, Torrey, Cheyne, H. P. Smith ("ostensibly a register of those who returned from the Exile," "has no bearing on the first return" O. T. Hist., p. 347), deny practically all historical credibility;²³ Ryssel, Smend, Wellhausen, Stade, Ryle, Driver concede an underlying stratum of fact; Van Hoonacker, Meyer, Baudissin, Sellin, Klostermann have placed the historicity beyond a peradventure.

XXXII. LETTERS OF SAMARITANS TO ARTAXERXES.

These letters (4: 8-23) stand in the section of Ezra written, not in the Hebrew, but in the Aramaic. The employment of this language here is an unquestioned proof that the author of Ezra-Nehemiah made direct use of original sources deposited in the Persian archives or in Jerusalem, and did not deem it desirable to translate. Since the Aramaic in one or the other of its dialects had been for centuries a kind of *lingua franca*, or medium of international intercourse in the districts between the Euphrates and the Mediterranean, and was understood at this time by the Jews, it was not absolutely necessary to employ the Hebrew; and since the additional purpose would be served of reproducing the letters in this section in their original form, the author retains the Aramaic, with some minor dialectic changes.

Coming now to the letters, we notice that Ezra 4: 4-16,

²³ These writers apparently adopt the view that a historical document must be considered spurious until its genuineness has been established. The true principle, that a historical document is to be considered genuine until its spuriousness has been established is well formulated by Meyer: "Bei einem aus historischer Zeit ueberlieferten Dokument steht die Beispflicht den Angreifern der Aechtheit zu, nicht den Vertheidigern" (Entsteh., p. 6).

relates various acts of hostility against the returned exiles by "the people of the land," i. e., chiefly the Samaritans. The first of these occurred "all the days of Cyrus, king of Persia, even until the reign of Darius (4: 4-5)." Then "in the reign of Ahasuerus in the beginning of his reign, wrote they an accusation against the inhabitants of Judah and Jerusalem" (v. 6). Again "in the days of Artaxerxes wrote Bishlam, Mithredath, Tabeel, and the rest of his companions, unto Artaxerxes king of Persia: and the writing of the letter was in the Syrian (Aramaic) character, and set forth in the Syrian tongue (v. 7)." Further, "Rehum the chancellor and Shimshai the scribe wrote a letter against Jerusalem to Artaxerxes the king in this sort, etc." (v. 8).

The common view is that verses 7-10 refer to a letter written jointly by Bishlam and his associates, and by Rehum and Shimshai, assumed Persian officials. But this does not explain the relation of the names. It seems better to regard verses 6, 7 and 8 as describing three several occasions on which letters were written to the king by the Samaritans, or other enemies of the Jews. Nothing further is said or known of the letter to Ahasuerus (Xerxes) v. 6. The author goes on to speak of the two written accusations in the days of Artaxerxes. Only the substance of the first letter, written by Bishlam and others, is recorded here, but the greater part, if not the whole of the second (omitting the usual lengthy salutation) is reproduced. Thus of the three letters mentioned, only one is extant; however, the loss is not great. The text as it stands is in some confusion, and we are unable to determine absolutely either the number or the date of the letters.²⁴

²⁴ The generally accepted view is that 4: 8-24 is out of place and refers to the Ezra-Nehemiah period; but Sellin presents an unusually strong argument for the old view that it is in the right place and refers to the Darius I. period. He argues that the names of Cambyses and Darius stood in the original writing, but that, just as in Josephus, Xerxes is known also as Cyrus and Artaxerxes, so here, the compiler of Ezra, writing a century after the events and neglecting to note the order of the

XXXIII. THE REPLY OF ARTAXERXES.

The reply of Artaxerxes, forbidding the further rebuilding of the city, is brief and probably contains only an abstract of the original decree, Ezra 4: 17-22. The rescript says that search having been made, it was found that the city of old time had made insurrection against kings, verse 19. The reference to "the book of the records," verse 15 (probably not merely Persian annals, but also Babylonian and Assyrian chronicles of the pre-Persian period, containing accounts of hostile acts of the kings of Judah and Israel), implies that minute records of all political movements were kept. We may be sure that Artaxerxes, as well as Cyrus, Darius and Xerxes before him, caused all the letters, decrees and documents of every description relating to the Jews to be carefully recorded, so that Ezra and Nehemiah could well have had access to, or procured copies of, genuine and authentic documents. When it is remembered that the Persian kings caused their firmans to be published generally in at least three languages, we may confidently conclude that copies would find their way to the most remote provinces.

XXXIV. THE LETTER OF TATTENAI TO DARIUS.

Tattenai, the Persian governor, desiring instruction in regard to allowing the rebuilding of the Temple, writes to Darius (Ezra 5: 6-17) whether a decree to that effect had been issued by Cyrus. This letter is in the Biblical or Western Aramaic; but since the dialect used by this high Persian official (presumably a *pechah* above the local *pechahs*, and so above Sheshbazzar, cf. verses 6 and 14) may be supposed to have been the Eastern Aramaic, the necessary dialectic changes were made. The student of the Aramaic Persian rulers, substituted Xerxes and Artaxerxes for the two earlier kings. "Sowohl der Inhalt von 4: 8-23 wie die Tradition ueber diesen Abschnitt fuehren uns zwingend darauf, dass derselbe ein Ereigniss vor der Regierung des Darius behandelt. In diesem Falle fallen alle sachlichen Bedenken gegen die Echtheit der Urkunden dahin" (Studien, p. 24).

will observe that two different words for letter occur, *iggarta* (Emph. from *igra*), v. 6, and *pithgama* (Emph. from *pithgam*), v. 7, the former a letter in general, the latter, a report, V. 11; the discrimination is a mark of historicity. The term "lost" may be applied to this letter only in the sense that the Aramaic original is no longer extant.²⁵ Then follows the account of the finding of the decree of Cyrus.

XXXV. THE ROLL OF THE DECREE OF CYRUS.

In Ezra 1: 1 it is recorded that "Cyrus made proclamation throughout all his kingdom and put it also in writing," that the Jews should be liberated and the Temple rebuilt. This statement is intended to show that the edict had been written at the command of the king and preserved in the archives as well as published throughout the kingdom.²⁶ In answer to the letter of Tattenai, "Darius the king made a decree, and search was made in the house of the archives where the treasures were laid up in Babylon. And there was found

²⁵ "Es ist bisher kein Argument, litterarischer oder sachlicher Art, erbracht, welches uns berechtigt, an der vollen Glaubwuerdigkeit von Ezra 5: 1-6: 15 zu zweifeln. Vielmehr vertraet sich ueberall ein sachlich gut orientierter, unmittelbar noch die aramaeisch-persischen Urkunden benutzender und von einer besonderen Tendenz freier Verfasser, wie besonders aus einem Vergleiche mit 1: 1 ff. erhellt" (Sellin, Entstehungsgeschichte, S. 12).

²⁶ Prof. H. P. Smith holds that "the difficulties in accepting this account as it stands, are of the most serious character. . . . The alleged proclamation is in a style unknown to the genuine edicts of the Persian kings. . . . All that we know of the Persian readiness to acknowledge and protect all sorts of sanctuaries does not justify the sweeping language of the proclamation" (O. T. History, pp. 344-5). This sentence without the negative is a defensible proposition. Kosters, Torrey and Smith line up together. Van Hoonacker, Meyer and Sellin furnish *proof* for the authenticity of the decree. "Seit wir wissen, wie Kambyses und Darius in den aegyptischen Inschriften als treue Diener der einheimischen Goetter auftreten, wie Kyros in seiner Proclamation an die Babylonier sich als den eifrigsten Verehrer und den erklaerten Liebling des Marduk einfuehrt, duerfte niemand daran Anstoss nehmen, wenn sich ein Perserkoenig den Juden gegenueber in gleicher Weise aeusserte" (Meyer, Entsteh., p. 64).

at Achmetha, in the palace that is in the province of Media, a roll, and therein was thus written for a record, etc. (6: 1-2)." Then follows the decree, vs. 3-5, which is obviously a condensation of the original. Here is explicit mention of "the house of the archives" (Aramaic *sipherayya*, books), a library in which the state documents, even those relating to distant provinces of the empire, were preserved.²⁷ "The edicts of Cyrus in this matter were published either simply in Persian, or, as in the case of the extant inscriptions of Persian kings, in Persian, Babylonian and Susianian" (Stade, *Gesch.*, II., 99). No reasonable doubt can be entertained as to the historical character of the edict.. Stade continues: "That Cyrus with royal generosity decreed to rebuild

²⁷ Kosters sees an inconsistency in the statement, vs. 1 and 2, that search was made "in Babylon" and a roll was found "in Achmetha" and argues that the author unskillfully excerpted from two documents ("die zwei Namen weisen zuerick auf zwei Erzaehlungen, deren eine Babel, die andere Achmetha nannte," *Wiederherstellung*, p. 23); in short, had no adequate knowledge of the subject-matter, and accordingly the whole narrative is untrustworthy. Both Meyer and Van Hoonacker have exposed the fallacy of this reasoning. As this is a crucial point, and as Van Hoonacker touches on other interesting matter, we reproduce his critique: "En disant qu'on fit dans les archives de Babylone une enquête touchant un document officiel qui se retrouva à Ecbatane, il ne crée pas à la critique un bien redoutable problème. Il était à présumer que le décret royal dont se prévaleaient les Juifs était déposé dans les archives de la grande ville qui, du moins pendant les premières années de la conquête, devait être restée le siège de l'administration pour les affaires des peuples soumis à l'ancien empire. Tattenai et son collègue font donc chose tout naturelle en priant le roi d'ordonner une enquête à Babylone et Darius lui-même devait s'attendre à trouver là les renseignements désirés. L'auteur qui mentionne la trouvaille faite à Ecbatane ne pouvait en juger autrement. La double mention d'Ecbatane et de Babylone n'est donc en aucune façon à considerer comme indice d'une double version. . . . La théorie de M. Kosters sur la composition des chap. V-VI du livre d'Esdras, n'a, croyons-nous, pas l'ombre d'un motif sérieux à alléguer en sa faveur. . . . Dans l'idée de l'auteur qui a écrit le verset 2, la pièce trouvée à Ecbatane se rapportait au décret porté par Cyrus en faveur du temple de Jerusalem. Or c'étaient précisément des renseignement sur le décret de Cyrus qu'on avait cherchés dans les archives de Babylone. Tout cela se tient aussi intimement que possible" (*Restauration Juive*, pp. 25, 26, 27).

the Temple at Jerusalem at the royal expense, is not incredible. The ancient Temple had been built by a renowned king of the past, as indeed the returned exiles boasted, Ez. 5: 11. It was therefore natural that a king should undertake to restore it, especially since political considerations might be involved. . . . The credibility of the account is further attested by the fact that the Aramaic source of the Chronicler furnishes reliable data concerning other events (Gesch., II., p. 100)."

XXXVI. THE REPLY OF DARIUS.

The reply of Darius is found in Ezra 6: 6–12 and is likewise an abstract of the Persian court-documents accessible to the author of Ezra. "I Darius have made a decree" (v. 12), which decree was of course recorded in the national chronicles and transmitted to the governors of the provinces, thus becoming available for future reference. That only the substance of the decree is reproduced here is evident from the omission of the date and the usual salutation; in the course of the transmission of the firman to the author of Ezra, other omissions may have occurred; but apart from minor changes the document has every mark of genuineness.

XXXVII. LETTER OF ARTAXERXES TO EZRA.

Ezra 7: 12–26 contains the letter of Artaxerxes to Ezra authorizing him to undertake reforms in Judea. Was such a letter issued, and have we a correct copy? The narrative states explicitly that it is "the copy of the letter that the king Artaxerxes gave unto Ezra the priest," v. 11. The fact that the section 6: 19 to 7: 11, is in Hebrew and that the Aramaic is resumed in 7: 12 and continued to the end of the letter, is a proof that the letter is a transcript or at least a condensation from an authentic source. Here again divergent views are entertained. "It is difficult to consider seriously the claim that this decree was ever issued" (H. P. Smith, O. T. Hist., p. 392). Similarly Kosters: "Das Empfeh-

lungsschreiben des Arthatastha ist so juedisch gefaerbt, dass Ezra es nicht mitgetheilt haben kann" (p. 95). On the other hand, Van Hoonacker, Meyer, Sellin, Driver and Stade regard the decree as in substance undoubtedly genuine, the latter declaring that it bears internally "den Stempel der Wahrheit" (Gesch., II., p. 153).

XXXVIII. THE BOOK OF THE CHRONICLES OF THE LEVITES.

This is the title of another genealogical table (Neh. 12: 23) prepared for future reference. It is clearly not our Chronicles, for no such matter is found there. The book here referred to must have been an official document, begun at an early period and carried down to the close of the fifth century, B. C. Various other lists, depending on lost sources, are: The genealogy of those returning with Ezra, Ezra 8: 1-14; those marrying foreign wives, Ezra 10: 18-44; those that sealed with Nehemiah, Neh. 1-31; priestly families living in Jerusalem, Neh. 11: 3-24.

XXXIX. THE BOOK OF THE RECORDS OF THE CHRONICLES.

The second chapter of Esther describing how Mordecai had saved the life of the king Ahasuerus ends with the words: "and it was written in the book of the chronicles before the king" (2: 23). Subsequently, after the erection of the gallows, "could not the king sleep; and he commanded to bring the book of records of the chronicles, and they read before him" (6: 1). The reference obviously, is to the book in which, according to 2: 23, the service of Mordecai was recorded. The king caused the annals to be read, not to learn the history of the Jews, but for his own entertainment. On any but a providential view, it is inexplicable, that just the part relating to Mordecai should be read. In Esther 10: 2, "the book of the chronicles of the king of Media and Persia," probably the same as the preceding, is cited. The mention of these books in this incidental way, is a further proof that

the custom prevailed at the Persian court in the fifth century B. C. to record even to the minutest details all the events pertaining to ■ reign.

XL. SUMMARY OF RESULTS.

A. The Lost Prophetical Sources.—It is clear from the preceding analysis, that the Hebrew prophets were the authors of a large number of works subsequently incorporated in part in the canonical scriptures, but no longer extant. Starting with the account of the reign of Solomon, we find that the Chronicler evidently drew from the same general source as the author of Kings. But the former, 2 C. 9: 29, cites as his authority for further information, not our Kings, but “the history of Nathan the prophet, the prophecy of Ahijah the Shilonite and the vision of Iddo the seer.” This signifies that “the book of the Acts of Solomon,” was compiled from the three prophetic writings and came gradually to be known under the collective title. The same conclusion is reached in regard to another source referred to in our Kings, “The Book of the Chronicles of the Kings of Judah.” For the events of the reign of Rehoboam, the Chronicler cites 2 C. 12: 15, “the histories of Shemaiah the prophet and of Iddo the seer,” for additional matter. But since the narrative in Chronicles is practically the same as that in our Kings, which is based on “the Chronicles of the Kings of Judah,” we must conclude that the ultimate authorities were the above prophetical memoirs.

In the case of other kings, of whom accounts are found in our Kings and Chronicles, earlier prophetical writings are adduced as the original authorities. It is surprising to what an extent the prophets wrote histories of the different reigns. Of the above books, numbers III., IV., V., VII., VIII., IX., XI.-XVIII., XXV., are titles of different works specifically mentioned as having been written by prophets or seers. These fifteen books could not have been the only ones originating in the prophetic guilds; they are of sufficient number and im-

portance to indicate that the data in the historical books were drawn from authentic sources and records.

B. Chronological Sequence.—(1) It is clear that early prose narratives and poetical collections, as the Book of the Wars of Jehovah, and the Book of Jashar, were reduced to writing in the period of the Judges. (2) Other collections, as the History of Samuel the Seer, of Nathan the Prophet, of Gad the Seer, the Chronicles of King David, the Book of the Acts of Solomon, the History of Shemaiah the Prophet, originated in the Davidic and Solomonic periods. (3) The Book of the Chronicles of the Kings of Judah, and of Israel, the Prophecy of Ahijah, the Visions of Iddo, the History of Jehu, the Acts of Uzziah, the Vision of Isaiah, were composed under the early kings. (4) The Commentary of the Book of Kings, the History of Hozai, the Lamentations, the later parts of the Book of the Kings of Israel and Judah, the Acts of the Kings of Israel, were prepared toward the close of the monarchy. (5) In the latest historical books, Ezra and Nehemiah, the specific mention of books and records no longer extant shows that the authors had abundant sources at command, guaranteeing an authentic narrative. In our canonical books of the middle period, as Samuel and Kings, the reference to special books is less frequent; and least of all in the earliest books. From this it may be inferred that the sources were less numerous or less available; but also that the author did not deem it necessary constantly to cite his channels of information. That books and records are actually mentioned as extant and accessible to the public, even in the earliest period, implies the existence of others.

C. Authentic Sources.—It is clear that a large body of Hebrew literature, antedating in some cases the canonical scriptures, has perished. That the Old Testament alone has survived is a marvellous proof of its inspired character. “From the citations we may conclude that the authors of the historical books of the Old Testament had access to earlier histories and other writings, which they used as sources.

Thereby the historical trustworthiness is assured; for the authors of our books could not in general have been eyewitnesses of the facts recorded" (Bleek-Wellhausen, Einleitung 6te Auflage, S. 16). The Book of Judges covers a period of about 400 years, Samuel at least 100, and Kings 450; and the Pentateuch the whole period from the creation to the death of Moses. If, however, the authors of these works had access to records written contemporaneously with, or shortly after, the events, their narratives attain a high degree of credibility. From the preceding account of upwards of thirty books mentioned in nearly a hundred passages, we must infer that these somewhat incidental references to special sources imply a still greater body of literature and of national records, from which the writers drew, and which they could have cited, if occasion demanded.²⁸

²⁸ In addition to the works discussed in the text, some writers claim that other lost books are mentioned in the Old Testament, as: Amalek's Defeat, Ex. 17: 14; the Book of the Constitution of the Kingdom, 1 Sam. 10: 25; Solomon's Thousand and Five Songs, 1 K. 4: 32 (Hebrew 5: 12); Solomon's Works on Natural History, 1 K. 4: 33; the Ancient Records, 1 C. 4: 22; and the Book of Jehovah, Isaiah 34: 16. The proof seems inadequate.

The Book of the Covenant.—In Ex. 24: 7, we read that "Moses took the book of the covenant and read in the audience of the people." As this "book" is understood by critics of every shade to refer to the preceding legislation, it does not fall within the scope of our subject. See W. H. Green, *The Higher Criticism of the Pentateuch*, p. 36. C. A. Briggs, *The Higher Criticism of the Hexateuch*, p. 210.

The Book of the Law.—2 K. 22: 8-20 contains an account of the finding of "the Book of the Law" in the time of Josiah. See 2 C. 34: 14, where it is called "The Book of the Law of Jehovah, Given by Moses." Whether this book was the whole Pentateuch, or only a part of it, as the Book of Deuteronomy, and when, under either view, it was composed, are some of the crucial questions of the Pentateuchal controversy and cannot receive consideration here.

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